Workers of the World, Unite !

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Legless Vet Asks Renewed Struggle For Bill of Rights

By James Kutcher

T. L. Caudle, the corrupt former Assistant Attorney General and head of the Department of Justice Tax Division who made a good thing for himself out of monetary and other bribes he accepted from tax-grafters he was supposed to prosecute, says that he got permission from his boss, Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, to accept a $5,000 "commission."

The House Ways and Means subcommittee investigating tax scandals then began to talk about calling Mr. McGrath for questioning on this matter. Mr. McGrath announced that he would be "delighted" to appear, but on one condition — he would appear only at a public hearing.

That interested me very much. The Attorney General, it appears, is strongly in favor of public hearings where his own interests are involved and under investigation. I don't blame him. At a public hearing he can present his own views, hear the accusations against him, examine whatever evidence is offered and make whatever defense he can.

NOT FOR OTHERS

However, Mr. McGrath follows a different policy toward other people. As Attorney General he is compiler of the "subversive" blacklist and executor of the "loyalty" purge which is based on that list. A number of the groups which were included in the list have protested the whole procedure and demanded an open hearing, at which they could learn on what basis they were included, hear the specific charges against them, learn the identity of the persons making those charges, and have an opportunity to answer them.

JAMES KUTCHER

Among the groups that have taken such a stand is the Socialist Workers Party. As an individual, I too made such a request after I was purged out of my clerical job with the Newark Veterans Administration solely because the Socialist Workers Party, to which I belong, was arbitrarily included on the blacklist.

But the Attorney General has remained stone-deaf to all such requests. He seems to figure that an open hearing is a good thing for him, but too good for the victims of the "loyalty" purge. He makes an open hearing a condition for appearing before the House subcommittee, but he denies the same right and safeguard to the political opponents whom his department is persecuting.

JUSTICE CLARK

Another name that has figured in the Caudle scandal is McGrath's predecessor as Attorney General, Mr. Tom C. Clark, now Supreme Court Justice. The House subcommittee, it is reported, is considering calling Mr. Clark to explain why he chose Caudle for the Tax Division job in the first place, since Caudle had absolutely no qualifications or experience for that particular post.

It also turns out that Mr. Clark, while he was Attorney General, had taken a number of "pleasure jaunts" with Caudle in a plane provided by a businessman whose tax manipulations were being investigated by the Department of Justice. Mr. Clark admits taking the trips, but denies that he knew the businessman was being investigated.

PLEADS "IGNORANCE"

In other words, Mr. Clark is making a plea of ignorance. I don't know how the courts would take such a plea, or how the House subcommittee will react to it. But I strongly suspect that it will not go over very well with the public, especially that portion of the public whose thinking has been most strongly influenced by Mr. Clark himself.

Mr. Clark, it should never be forgotten, was the initiator of the

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Fake 'FEPC' Is No Bar to Discrimination

The Negro and labor movements asked President Truman for an FEPC — a Fair Employment Practices Commission with the power to wipe out discrimination in industry. What he gave them on Dec. 3 was a CGCC — a Committee on Government Contract Compliance, which has no power to do anything but to "study" and "confer" and "recommend."

The Democratic Party platform of 1948 promised an FEPC with effective enforcement provisions. But the Democratic-controlled Congress flatly refused to pass such a law. Then Truman was urged to act on his own and establish an FEPC, which he can do merely by signing an executive order.

Truman stalled for a long time, out now he has given his answer: no FEPC.

For the last ten years all government contracts have contained a clause prohibiting racial or religious employment practices. But no one has ever paid much attention to this clause, although the government has the power to cancel contracts where it is violated.

Now Truman has set up an 11-member committee to deal with compliance with this clause. He will appoint six members himself, and the heads of the five government agencies handling contracts will each appoint a representative.

However, the power to enforce the anti-discrimination clauses is not given to the CGCC — it remains with the heads of the five agencies, where it was before. All the new committee can do is study the situation and recommend what the five agencies should do. But the agencies can keep on doing what they please.

Even the CGCCs power to recommend is strictly limited, for Truman has ordered that its recommendations "are subject to review" by the Director of Defense Mobilization "so that our efforts toward eliminating discrimination in employment will at all times aid in increasing defense production."

And naturally the Director of Defense Mobilization will never permit the CGCC to even recommend the cancellation of contracts with corporations guilty of discrimination because that would not "increase defense production."

Furthermore, the CGCC will have no independent funds. Whatever money it has to operate on will be provided by the five contract agencies, which will thus have the power to strangle it to death if it should ever contemplate any action not approved by them.

The FEPC that was set up by Roosevelt ten years ago under the pressure of the Negro people was never anything to cheer about. But at least it had independent enforcement powers, even though it practically never used them, while the CGCC has no powers at all. And the FEPC's jurisdiction extended to practically all of U.S. industry, while the CGCC is confined, even in its studies, to industries holding government contracts, which covers about one-fifth of the economy.

(See editorial on Page 3)

Korean Fighting Slowed By Popular Opposition

"This Sort of Thing Can Ruin Me!"

One-Fifth of the Nation Gets Only 3% of Income

By Harry Frankel

The bottom fifth of the U.S. population gets only 3 percent of the country's income, while the top fifth gets almost half, the Census Bureau reported in figures released on Dec. 1. Income distribution was shown to be as follows:

Top fifth — 47%.
Second fifth — 24%.
Third fifth — 17%.
Fourth fifth — 9%.
Poorest fifth — 3%.

The startling fact disclosed in these figures is that 40% of the population of the U.S. gets only 12% of the money income of the country. This supports previous disclosures that almost 70% of the families of the country have a cash income below the $4,000 minimum which has been set as the lowest figure for maintaining an American family at a "health and decency" level.

The Census Bureau figure on the lowest fifth, showing that 20% of the people have to try to live on 3% of the national income, shows that the trend of relative impoverishment of this group is continuing. In 1910, the lowest fifth got 8.3% of the national income, in 1918, 6.8%, in 1929, 5.4%, and in 1937, 3.6%.

This has not been the only section of the population to lose ground. The middle fifth, which in 1910 got 15% of the national income, and in 1937 was still getting 15.7%, has dropped sharply to 9% in 1950. The fourth fifth, next to the bottom, has shown an increase in its relative prosperity, rising from about 12% 40 years ago to 17% today. So has the second fifth, next to the top, going up from 19% to its present 24%.

RICH GET RICHER

These increases in relative income have been entirely at the expense of the bottom and middle income fifths. The top fifth has held its own. Today, as in 1910, this group takes almost half the wealth of the country. However, the national income has risen enormously, and, where in 1910 the top fifth got half of $30 billion, today it takes half of about $225 billion.

The Associated Press, in releasing the Census Bureau report, tried to discredit the figures by implying that the taxes on incomes, not included in the figures, would change the picture if they were taken into account. However, an examination of income figures of a similar type for previous years shows that the tax laws are so rigged that they do not substantially change the distribution of income. In 1947, for example, the top income fifth got 48 percent of the national income before taxes, and after taxes this was cut by only 2 percent, to 46%. The lowest income fifth got only 4% of the national income, whether figured before or after taxes.

LAWS FAVOR WEALTHY

Since 1947, the tax laws have been changed in the direction of favoring the wealthy even more than before.

While the **New York Herald Tribune** placed the Census Bureau release on Page 1, it did its best to weaken the effect of the startling figures by casting doubt upon thir accuracy, citing the tax laws and other trifling factors. **The New York Times** printed the same kind of story and then buried it on page 57 of its Sunday edition.

Only Organized Demand Can Bring Troops Back Home

U.S. troops in Korea appear to be following the policy of you don't shoot at me and I won't shoot at you. Killing is still going on, to be sure. Truman, Acheson and Ridgway are trying to keep the atmosphere warlike by sending men to their deaths in commando raids far behind the main lines and in air combat. But they dare not order actions involving the main bodies of troops. Truman and his generals have been maneuvering under cover of the cease-fire negotiations to keep the war going and the troops in Korea. But everyone has seen through the fraud. The shyster pretexts and petty obstacles raised to stall the negotiations have become obvious. Hanson W. Baldwin, military analyst of the **N. Y. Times**, conceded in an article on Dec. 2 that "serious and responsible observers — among the troops at the Korean front, here in this country, and abroad — have at times questioned whether the United States was sincere in desiring peace in Korea."

EIGHT "MISTAKES"

He cites eight "mistakes" which he says have contributed to the "misunderstandings." Among these are the fact that no British or other Allied representative has been included on the truce negotiating team and that "on several occasions we gave the impressions not of sincerity, but of bargaining."

Opposition to the whole U.S. course in Korea reached such a point that Truman and his military aides, contrary to their desires, were forced to countenance a de facto cease-fire over most of the battle front, although the President denied the "accusation" that he had ordered such a cease-fire as if he had been charged with some heinous crime.

Robert Eunson, Associated Press Bureau Chief in Tokyo, testified on Nov. 30 to the scope of popular opposition. He attributed "sudden change" in U.S. policy to "pressure." He reports that "the folks at home were putting pressure on" and quotes a "highly placed officer" in Ridgway's headquarter's as saying, "You don't know how much pressure is being put on Ridgway. And it isn't only coming from the folks back home. Britain, France and other United Nations coun-

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805 More

U.S. casualties in Korea went up another 805 last week, bringing the total for the war to 101,688. This is an incomplete total, since the figures are several weeks old. In addition, it does not include so-called "non-battle" casualties. If these are included, the actual total of U.S. casualties is close to 200,000.

Bring the boys back home! That is the only way to end the slaughter.

U.S. Paves Way for Terror Campaign In South Korea

Syngman Rhee's regime has opened a new drive to "exterminate" thousands of guerrillas admittedly still operating behind the lines in South Korea. This drive by "our murderous allies" — as a **Life** correspondent once described the South Korean soldiers and police — is also serving to screen a campaign of terrorism against the South Korean populace, who are bitterly hostile to the Rhee dictatorship and U.S. intervention.

Announcement of the drive on the guerrillas, who can operate only with popular support, was preceded by proclamation of martial law in half of Korea. This military rule is so "extreme," reported Greg McGregor, **N. Y. Times** correspondent in Pusan, that "residents were forbidden to move from their villages." The United Press reported on Dec. 2 that "house-to-house searches were ordered by the Defense Ministry" and "police were ordered to arrest and jail anyone caught with hidden weapons."

Anyone who offers resistance will be charged with "rendering aid and comfort to the enemy" and will be shot or imprisoned. Anyone caught with arms "will be assumed to be a guerrilla," reports McGregor.

Most of the guerrillas are not "Communists," McGregor says. "About 90 per cent are probably simple outlaws, not necessarily Communists. The other 10 per cent are Communists." A Dec. 2 UP dispatch from Pusan affirmed that "many guerrillas were merely anti-Government Partisans who had little or no connection with the Reds." A Dec. 2 UP story from Taegu reports that on their way into the mountains the South Korean troops first "searched about 100 villages along the way."

WAGE CIVIL WAR

The estimates of the number of organized guerrillas now operating against the Rhee regime and the U.S. invaders range up to "10,000-odd bandits pocketed at various points in South Korea," says the UP. Last March, according to McGregor, the estimate was 80,000. Moreover, these guerrillas have been waging civil war "since long before the Red invasion of South Korea." (UP, Dec. 2.)

Although a UN official in Pusan was reported to have said that the campaign, called "Operation Rat Hole," was being waged without U.S.-UN help, Gen. Van Fleet, 8th Army commander, attended the start of the campaign at Namwon in person. He said it was "coming along beautifully, but I shouldn't look for results too soon." As revealed in the Nov. 13 **N.Y. Times**, U.S. aircraft, including helicopters, actually had paved the way for the campaign by burning down with gasoline and phosphorous grenades peasant huts where guerrillas allegedly might hide.

WHO MAKES DECISIONS FOR AMERICAN PEOPLE?

By George Clarke

James Reston's article in last Sunday's N. Y. **Times** (Dec. 2nd) should be required reading for every American. Stimulated by the fatal dilemma of U.S. imperialism's foreign policy and by the present crisis in the "cold war," it is a piece of sober, lucid thinking. And as such it is a welcome change from the daily diet of propaganda, bluster and ballyhoo, dished out by the monopoly-controlled press including the N. Y. Times.

Reston's theme is contained in the following lines:

"Events of the last few days indicate once more that East and West, Communist and non-Communist, American and European, Republican and Democrat, have at least one thing in common: they are overwhelmed by events and trapped by the consequences of their mutual hostility. . .

"All the world figures are extremely effusive — President Truman in Florida lecturing the press; General Eisenhower in Rome exhorting the ministers; even the Prime Ministers of Iran and Egypt, posing as the George Washingtons and Thomas Jeffersons of the Middle East. But the theory that men dominate events does not prevail. All the evidence is to the contrary. . .

"In every country those having responsibility are trying to deal with forces that are almost beyond the imagination, let alone control, of mortal men, and the dilemma they face at every turn are stubborn and dangerous."

DANGEROUS CONCESSION

Reston's opinions about the decisive importance of material forces, what he calls "events," are a dangerous concession to Marxism and may some day bring him a summons from the Un-American Activities Committee. They are clearly at variance with the so-called "American Way" of education which teaches that history is made and unmade by the genius and inspiration of "great men," 'great generals," "great leaders." The unprecedented, unequalled economic power and wealth of our financial oligarchy makes it only natural that this "theory" should be given greater credence in the U.S. than anywhere else in the world.

COMPLETELY BEWILDERED

But the very fact that Reston is not a Marxist leaves him completely bewildered about these "uncontrollable forces." Classes, not individuals, dominate and shape events. And it is only to the extent that individuals are the conscious expression of these classes that they can play a leading role in determining the course of events. It is precisely for this reason that Reston is right in saying that the men in the Kremlin are as much "overwhelmed by events" as the 'leaders" of the capitalist world. But that is the subject for another article.

The "uncontrollable forces" loose in the world today are the forces of social revolution. Everywhere in the world, but in the United States, capitalism is dying of an incurable disease. Its property has been expropriated and nationalized in all of Eastern Europe, in addition to the USSR. Its rule is being attacked and overthrown by the peoples of the Orient and the Middle East; and challenged by the insurgent working class of western Europe and the British Isles.

The old system is crumbling on

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Titoism and War: A Reply to Yugoslav CP

By Michel Pablo

Borba, official organ of the Yugoslav Communist Party, has found it necessary to devote an article to the recent Congress of the Fourth International although it declares that in reality the Congress "has no importance for the international workers movement because it assembled men who are completely isolated from the revolutionary struggle of the progressive forces in the world."

The Yugoslav leaders, who failed to attend the Congress to which they were invited but now criticize, will permit us a different estimation from theirs on our "isolation" and the "revolutionary struggle" of the progressive forces" to which they refer.

In the first place this "isolation" does not appear to us to be "complete" even as regards their own party and their own country, where **Trotskyists and Trotskyism have been known** (between June 1948, the time of the break with the Kremlin, and June 1950 when the Korean war and pro-imperialist turn of the Yugoslav leaders began), as the first and most active defenders of the Yugoslav revolution among vanguard working class circles in more than 35 countries on all continents where Trotskyist organizations are active.

This enthusiastic activity of the Trotskyists has affected hundreds of Yugoslav revolutionists, and despite all the barriers which the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia erected against the development of this activity and the free dissemination of our ideas among the revolutionary vanguard in their country, many Yugoslav communists have come to believe in the correctness of our ideas and in the revolutionary caliber of our international movement.

At that time, the bureaucrats of the CPY attempted to restrain "the pro-Trotskyist' ardor of many of their members by implanting doubts as to the sincerity of our anti-imperialist struggle. We were, it appears — oh irony! — too . . . anti-Stalinist!

If **Borba** now finds itself obliged to mention the Congress of the Fourth International, and to devote an article to it, this is primarily the result of the "Trotskyist memories" which still remain alive in the CPY and which they are now trying to erase. Secondly, the author of the **Borba** article is well aware that the international influence of Trotskyism in revolutionary vanguard circles, even in its present limited degree, by far outdistances the "ideological" influence of the Yugoslav leaders; and that in reality, their break with Trotskyism has deprived these leaders of all real support in the international working class, leaving them with "forces" as "progressive" and "representative" as the journalists, parliamentarians, trade union bureaucrats, reformists and other direct and indirect agents of imperialism who for the most part do little else but attend this or that "conference' convened in Yugoslavia from time to time.

THEIR REAL MASTER

Moreover, the master these men serve is naturally not in Yugoslavia. They serve their own bourgeoisie and now commend the Yugoslav leaders only insofar as the policy of the latter appears to them to be properly moving into the camp of "democratic" imperialism. As a choice between the "revolutionary struggle" of these elements and the revolutionary struggle of the colonial masses now in revolt against imperialism in the Far East, in the Middle East, in Africa and of the international proletariat against imperialism's war preparation, the Trotskyists have committed the "crime" of supporting, unconditionally, the struggle of these masses regardless of their leadership.

The Yugoslav leaders reproach us precisely for having supported the struggle of the Korean masses against imperialism and for our appeal "to the workers of Germany and other western countries calling upon them to fight against measures taken in these countries aimed at their defense against an eventual Great-Russian aggression."

These "measures" are the rearmament policy of the "Atlantic" bourgeoisie which, according to the very "Marxist-Leninist" Yugoslav leaders, are designed for "defense against a Great-Russian aggression."

Thus these leaders, who have abandoned all class criteria and

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Notebook of an Agitator

A TRADE UNION EPISODE

After the top bureaucracy of the CIO had carried through its great purge, two of the weaker Stalinist unions, decimated by the raiding and wrecking assaults of both the CIO and AFL, sought shelter from the storm in a hasty merger with a stronger organization. Last year the hard-hit and groggy Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers and the United Office and Professional Workers effected a fusion with the former Local 65 of the CIO Wholesale and Retail Union. This local has a membership of about 30,000 centered in big New York department stores and dry goods concerns. The amalgamated body took the name of the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers Union, the original Local 65 of the CIO becoming District 65 of the new set-up.

This merger of convenience of three unions in unrelated fields appeared, on the surface at least, to consolidate the defensive position of the Stalinists against the fury of the government-CIO-AFL attack. Latest reports, however, indicate that things didn't turn out this way, as mentioned last week.

Major Internal Shuffle

The Food and Tobacco Workers and the Office and Professional Workers, which were weaker and more dependent on the Communist Party and, therefore, more firmly controlled by it, were originally given equal representation in the executive body and staff of the new organization. That arrangement is out the window now. A few weeks ago the heads of District 65, which represents the real numerical and organizational power in the national body, carried through a major internal reorganization. Four of the vice-presidents from the other unions suddenly found themselves out of office and presumably out of jobs. At the same time the list of vice-presidents was reshuffled to give the Distributive section a mechanical majority in the future.

The meaning of this shake-up is quite clear, and so are the reasons for it. It is sufficient to read the comments of George Morris, labor editor of the Daily Worker, to get the pitch. He refers to the "alarm and bewilderment" of many people over the "recent trend" in the union, and leaves no doubt that he shares in the alarm if not in the bewilderment. He laments the unceremonious ousting of such old reliable Stalinist hacks as James Durkin, former president of the old Office and Professional Workers Union, later secretary-treasurer of the merged union, and now divested of all official titles and emoluments.

Naturally, Morris says, "It is the DPO's democracy that has suffered." But Arthur Osman and David Livingston, the top bosses of District 65, who learned the tricks of demagogy from the Stalinists, didn't fail to give the same "democracy" a verbal work out in their press release. They justified their move in the name of "more democratic organization" and "equal representation in the leadership."

Own Axe To Grind

What really happened here is the same thing that has happened before and will happen again before the skein is finally unwound. Opportunist labor leaders whom the Stalinists help to put in power, and protected against the pressure of rank and file militants, turned against the party at the moment when their allegiance was most needed. Osman and Livingston, like all the rest of their breed, have their own axes to grind. They are obviously taking advantage of the difficulties of the Communist Party to shake loose from its control and get themselves into a position for maneuvers and deals with the CIO, which has something to give them.

To be sure, this ingratitude, not to say cynicism, of these white-haired boys who so long enjoyed the favor, support and publicity boosts of the Communist Party, is not a very admirable trait. But that's the way it is with careerists; you can buy them but they won't stay bought.

Morris' comments on the new developments are all couched in a hypocritical tone of regret and friendly admonition. The curses and brutal denunciation, which the Stalinists usually bestow upon their friends and favorites of yesterday, are withheld. This could indicate that the fight is still going on in the ranks and that the issue is not finally decided. The trend, however, is clear.

Morris refers to the recent anniversary festival of District 65 in Madison Square Garden, where the union's 18-year history was told in skits, pantomimes and speeches. "What struck me," he says, "was the omission of any reference to the union's origin and history as a left-wing organization, and the fact that throughout its history it drew its spirit, program and strength from the left stream of America's labor. This couldn't have been an oversight."

Not An Oversight

No, it was not an oversight. It is obvious that Osman and Livingston are engineering a swing to the right in line with the American labor bureaucracy as a whole. And it doesn't take a prohpet or the son of a prophet to foretell that the majority of the job holders in the Union, most if not all of whom belonged to the CP when it had something to give them, will go along with Osman and Livingston in the showdown. It is possible, of course, for an honest revolutionary party to raise and educate a cadre of trade union militants, including officials, who will stand up under pressure. We proved that in the Minneapoli's fight. But human material of this kind can't be bought, as the new experiences in District 65 illustrate once again.

Such incidents as the shake-up of functionaries in the DPO are primarily of interest for the future. Nothing now taking place in the trade unions settles anything definitively. All the expulsions, raids and wrecking operations of the conservative bureaucrats are, after all, mere episodes in the evolution of the American labor movement. They are the product, in the main, of the present atmosphere of reaction and are favored by it. This atmosphere will change and with it, the situation and relation of forces in the unions.

The radical labor movement will rise again, stronger than before and wiser for the rich and varied experiences of the past twenty years. The Stalinists perverted and betrayed the last uprising of militant labor and thus made possible the present domination of the unions by the government. Will they get a chance to repeat that performance next time? Not if the revolutionary workers know their business and stick to it. That is the most important conclusion to be drawn from current events in the trade unions.

— J. P. C.

JAPAN LABOR MOVEMENT MILITANTLY OPPOSES WITCH HUNT LEGISLATION

By a Special Correspondent

TOKYO — The Yoshida government, disturbed by the growing opposition to the recent treaties and by a number of militant wage struggles, attempted at the special session of the Japanese Diet called to ratify the treaties to enact two reactionary laws "for the maintenance of the public peace and regulation of political organizations" that would give the government the power to suppress all opposition movements.

But the laws were not enacted because of the determined resistance of the masses.

Rising prices have made the conditions of wage earners more difficult, and big strikes are being fought for wage increases and special allowances. The Coal Miners Union, mobilizing more than a million workers, fought a struggle with astonishing solidarity and militancy against national and foreign pressures and won a complete victory for its wage demands.

At present the Electric Industrial Union and the Teachers Union are striking on a national scale for wage increases. The Civil Servants Union of the governmental departments is likewise preparing a strike. The Nagoya section of the State Railway Workers Union, after long and futile negotiations, has declared a state of emergency, warning that unless their demands are met they will refuse the responsibility for the normal operation of the trains. There are strikes in other industries as well.

Strike movements have become traditional at the end of each year, when the workers seek special allowances. The present sweep of strikes is due not only to this, however, but also to the psychological effects of the treaties recently ratified, which have awakened many sections of the population to independent action.

PREMIER YOSHIDA

When, against this background, the Yoshida regime brought up its two repressive measures during the special session of the Diet, the whole working class was enraged.

The General Council of the Trade Unions of Japan proclaimed a state of emergency, declared that it would fight against this attempt at suppression with force if necessary, and immediately organized a Central Committee of Struggle. They warned the government that unless the two proposed bills were withdrawn, the Council would issue an order for a nationwide strike on Nov. 17.

The General Council is completely under the leadership of the left wing of the Socialist Party. As of Sept. 1, it had a membership of 2,935,629. At present, the only unions still under Stalinist leadership are those affiliated to the CIO of Japan, which numbers 49,480.

The most striking characteristics of the present strike wave are that the initiative is being taken by the Social Democratic unions; that their scope is wide and not an isolated struggle of so-called "red" unions; that the General Council, usually denounced by the Stalinists as conservative and reactionary, has openly taken up a struggle with purely political aims, limited though they are. This testifies to a tremendous pressure from the ranks of the workers.

I must add here that as a result of the Tenth Congress of the State Railway Workers Union (where the "Four Principles of Peace" was endorsed) the so-called Mindo — the League for the Democratization of the Unions — was forced to declare its own liquidation. The Mindo was originally formed for the alleged purpose of fighting the dictatorial leadership of the Stalinists. Its leaders are ultra-right conservatives. They were completely swept out of the leadership of the Railway Workers Union. This development undoubtedly registered on the consciousness of the General Council, whose members realize they face a similar fate if they ignore the moods of the workers.

The General Council's warning to the government had its effect. The Yoshida regime abandoned efforts to put the bills through at the special session. The General Council then cancelled its threatened strike. But the Council, knowing it is quite possible that the bills will be introduced at the regular session of the Diet early next year, is keeping a vigilant watch on developments and maintains the special struggle committee.

In a letter I will send **The Militant** next week, I will discuss the present policy of the Communist Party and present my estimate of that policy.

Fund Collections Pick Up; Total Reaches 38 Percent

$18,000 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Newark	$ 500	$ 388	78
Akron	150	114	76
Chicago	1,000	614	61
Pittsburgh	50	30	60
St. Paul-Minneapolis	1,000	582	58
St. Louis	100	50	50
Los Angeles	2,600	1,238	47
Milwaukee	250	112	45
Flint	350	152	43
Connecticut	75	30	40
Toledo	50	20	40
Buffalo	1,000	377	38
Detroit	1,500	572	38
Seattle	400	137	34
Youngstown	350	120	34
Cleveland	300	94	31
Boston	550	147	27
New York	5,000	1,360	27
Philadelphia	400	99	25
San Francisco	1,000	120	12
Allentown	75	0	0
Oakland	150	0	0
General	1,150	550	48
Total through Dec. 3	$18,000	$6,906	38

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

Total payments this week were the largest since the Socialist Workers Party launched its $18,000 Organization and Press Fund seven weeks ago. Fourteen branches and friends sent in $1,708. The scoreboard through Dec. 3 shows a national total of $6,906 or 38% of the total amount assigned for the three-month campaign. While still lagging because of the slow start, the branches closed the gap by 2% — we are now 16% behind schedule.

Newark maintained its lead by reaching 78% of its $500 quota with a $16 payment, but **Akron** is moving in fast. S. **Harte** airmailed $34, boosting their percentage to 76. **Chicago**, in third place, is making a determined bid for second. Comrade **Hildegarde** sent in $69 this week, saying: "Hope this pushes us up into second place this time!" **Pittsburgh's** 60% holds fourth place and **St. Paul-Minneapolis** moved into fifth place with a check for $138. **Grace Carlson**, Organizer of the **Minneapolis** branch, says: "We regret very much that we were not able to get this in in time for the last scoreboard, but what with the Thanksgiving Day dinner, a public meeting, etc., we didn't find the time. However, inasmuch as we are the only people who can be really thankful for having a good program and good comrades to carry it out, we certainly don't want to let the Thanksgiving season go by without paying some form of tribute. Hence, the check."

Those branches holding the first five places on the scoreboard are ahead of schedule with 54% or more.

Los Angeles made the biggest gain during the week. This telegram came from **Lil Charles** today: "$500 in mail. Al Lynn memorial meeting contribution to fund. Story follows." Comrade Al, who died Nov. 23, understood well the political importance of funds to assure the smooth functioning of the party and the regular appearance of its press. He would be the first to applaud this magnificent tribute by the Los Angeles comrades to his memory.

G. Holley, Treasurer, sent in $5 for **Milwaukee**. "I think you are right," he comments, "in believing that funds will roll in better during the second half of the campaign. We have some big guns here keeping their powder dry for the victory push."

Toledo doubled its score to 40% with a $10 payment.

Buffalo and **Detroit** are running neck and neck with 38%. **Buffalo** sent $50; **Detroit** $84.

Seattle chalked up a big gain during the week — 21 to 34% — with two payments totaling $55.

Cleveland moved ahead seven points to 31% with a check for $22.

This note from **Sally Conti** accompanied **Boston's** $25 payment: "I know we are quite far behind, but I got a lot of promises of big payments next week so we expect to do better."

New York made a $305 gain and **San Francisco** pushed ahead four points with a $45 payment.

The group of Socialist Workers Party supporters down South sent in another $100, making their total contribution $300. A New York friend of the party has been following the campaign in **The Militant**, and decided to give "General" a hand — a big hand — $250.

The campaign has passed the half-way mark. Those branches below 54% will have to do some tall stepping in the last half to catch up and finish 100% by the campaign deadline — Jan. 15.

LEGLESS VETERAN URGES RENEWED STRUGGLE ON BILL OF RIGHTS DAY

(Continued from Page 1)

present witch hunt (under orders from the White House, of course). He gave the orders for the issuance of the "subversive" list (which Mr. McGrath's prosecutors are now trying to uphold against my appeal to the U.S. District Court of Appeals in Washington) and he carried out the "loyalty" purge so vigorously that he won promotion at the hands of a grateful president.

But the underlying basis of the "loyalty" purge, or one of its bases anyhow, is the doctrine of "guilt by association." I know how this works because it was worked on me by Mr. Clark and his associates. They accused my party of being "subversive" (although, as the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit ruled in the Remington case, the "subversive" list is "a purely hearsay declaration by the Attorney General. . . . It has no competency to prove the subversive character of the listed associations. . .").

My party and I both denied this charge and branded it for what it was — a criminal frameup attempt to suppress minority political opinions. Ignoring this reply, as they had ignored our request for an open hearing, Mr. Clark and his associates then had me fired from my job without making even an effort to prove that I personally am "subversive." I freely admitted my membership in the Socialist Workers Party, of which I am proud, and that was enough for them. My mere membership was all the "evidence" they required.

That is what is known as the assumption of "guilty by association," and Mr. Clark, as much as anyone now living is responsible for the acceptance of this doctrine and the unjust, discriminatory practices that flow from it. And I suspect that he is now going to get a taste of it himself. What people are going to remember is that he appointed Caudle and that he associated with Caudle while Caudle was engaging in crooked practices, and not his plea of ignorance. I don't think he is going to like the experience of being on the receiving end of "guilt by association" (assuming, of course, that he is not guilty of anything else in this case, which I have no way of knowing).

What is written above may seem extraneous to Bill of Rights Day, the subject on which **The Militant** invited me to write this week. But I don't think it is. The Bill of Rights is under attack more violently and ferociously than at any time since it went into effect 160 years ago. And the point I have been trying to make is that the most dangerous attacks on it are coming from high government officials, who will probably observe the anniversary occasion with noble-sounding words about preserving the democratic liberties and traditions they themselves have done so much to violate and befoul. I also think it is not a pure coincidence that the most rabid witch hunters usually turn out to be animated by the most sordid and corrupt personal considerations as well as reactionary political aims.

The events of the last four years have proved that it is not enough to have the Bill of Rights on the statutes. The intent and purpose of statutes can be evaded, and is. Hitler too left a lot of laws of the German republic on the books when he came to power, but he violated them every day in every way. Stalin's constitution provides for many democratic liberties, but we know that these remain hollow mockeries so long as Stalin's secret police and bureaucrats have the power to determine how these provisions shall be interpreted.

So when we say that the Bill of Rights must be preserved, we mean not only that its democratic safeguards must be retained on the books, but that they must be protected and enforced in real life. And since the government is the chief force in this country today which is undermining these liberties, it is the government they must be protected against, and it is the American people who must take the initiative in seeing that they are enforced.

It is from this viewpoint that I am fighting in the courts and by appeals to public opinion to win a reversal of my discharge under the "loyalty" purge, and I think that this viewpoint, more or less consciously held, is at the bottom of the gratifying amount of support that has been given to "the case of the legless veteran" by so many labor and liberal organizations.

But, in all frankness, I do not believe that the Bill of Rights can be effectively preserved and genuinely enforced FOR ALL so long as the government is in the hands of capitalist politicians who are inherently hostile to the interests of a majority of the people, and who therefore don't like democracy in the first place, and who have shown furthermore that their preparations for war against "totalitarianism" include a program for turning this country into a totalitarian police state.

Fundamentally, it is because of that belief that I was purged. The paradoxical situation is that I believe in the Bill of Rights, and the purgers don't; they are purging me and others like me as "subversives" because we want to uphold the democratic liberties which THEY are subverting. I am confident that they will not succeed in their aim of destroying freedom in America; but meanwhile their very efforts confirm my conviction that only by removing them from power and replacing them with the representatives of the working people will we be able to live as truly free men and women.

I was pleased to read, in the Nov. 19 **Militant**, J. P. C.'s remarks about the attitude the coming Workers and Farmers Government will take toward the Bill of Rights. The people of the socialist future, he wrote about the Bill, "believing in and needing democracy and freedom" will "treasure it and guard it." The best guarantee of that is the struggle that the fighters for socialism are making today to treasure it and guard it against the capitalist witch hunters who seek to pervert it and destroy its essence.

"Road To Peace" Drive Opens; To End Feb. 15

The three month campaign to circulate the new pamphlet by James P. Cannon, The Road to Peace, which started on Nov. 15, is well under way. Close to 1400 copies of the pamphlet are to be sold under present branch quotas. Not all branches of the Socialist Workers Party have sent in their quotas.

Branches which have begun selling the pamphlet report enthusiastically on their success. For example, the Minneapolis agent, Helen S., writes as follows:

"Our **Road to Peace** pamphlet will surely be a best seller here in Minneapolis. All the comrades are so enthusiatic about it! **The Road to Peace** is a part of every day's conversation — it is so attractive and made to order for the day. We say again and again that Comrade Cannon is our prize journalist.

"Just as we 'talk' the **Road to Peace** so do we have wonderful success with sales. Sunday night at a Stalinist 'Crusade for Peace' rally, Millie, Fannie, Julia, Doris, Otto, Harry and Helen sold the pamphlet to 1 out of 5 who showed up for their meeting. One man, who first refused to buy, came out of the meeting with money in his hand for a copy."

Akron, in accepting its quota, commented that "We are looking at this as a campaign — therefore not ordering pamphlets that will lay around for a long time." Akron promises to sell out its quota before the campaign ends on Feb. 15, 1952.

San Francisco reports plans to "present the pamphlet to our **Militant** subscribers, to our buyers on our few weekly routes, and probably best of all will be sales through mobilizations to do house-to-house work in the areas where the sales of the **Militant** were best."

Letters to the Editor

Voice of Wall Street Spurned by Workers

Editor: The Crusade For Freedom drive was opened here in Youngstown with considerable fanfare by the management of the local plants of U.S. Steel. Despite steady plugging on payday and on several previous days it appeared that production workers gave the sign-up booth a cold shoulder. Observation showed that less than one in fifty took the time to endorse the Voice of Wall Street.

Workers' typical comments:

"Another scheme to get your money." (a cynical materialist)

"Why don't they fix up freedom at home?" (a Negro worker)

"If the Company is behind it, it ain't any good for us." (a worker with well-founded suspicions)

"Who the hell wants another war anyway?"

This last comment came from a worker who is a rabid right winger in local union politics.

M. L.
Youngstown, Ohio

Negro Income

"The average annual income of the Negro family is 55% below the general average for the country as a whole, and only 40% of the income estimated as necessary to sustain the minimum standards of health and decency. . .

"The average yearly earning of the Negro woman in 1948 was $492, as compared with $1142 for white women, which is way below the national average for men. . .

— From resolutions of the National Negro Labor Council

THE MILITANT ARMY

Branches now beginning on their **Militant** campaign renewals will have to go some to match the pace set by the comrades in **Flint**. This week the branch wound up their work with an impressive gain of 17 additional subscriptions, bringing their score to 57 to date.

Literature Agent **Helen S.** reports that **Minneapolis** is ready to start their local campaign. "This coming Sunday," she writes, "the Minneapolis comrades will be out visiting old and new friends for their renewals to **The Militant**. This will cover all of our 'pending renewals' through December. The whole idea is that anyone who has been reading **The Militant** for six months has found the paper indispensable for a clear-cut presentation of the news of the day; he has become interested in socialism and is awaiting a **Militant** representative to attend to his renewal. Expect a 'big success' letter from Minneapolis next week with a big share of renewals enclosed."

Seattle writes, "We have started our resubbing and enclosed are some renewals obtained last Sunday. We will continue until we have completed our list."

New York Literature Agent **George Rock** reports a good start in New York's campaign. Last Sunday 12 renewals were obtained in Harlem and Brooklyn. These, added to six obtained previously, give New York a total of 18 subs sold so far in the campaign.

Sunday night, George says, **Jeff** and **Johnny** went to a forum at the Community Church and sold 21 copies of **The Militant** and a copy of James P. Cannon's new pamphlet "The Road to Peace." **Donald's** weekly sales at Washington Irving High School have been good. This week he doubled his usual sale.

Literature Agent **Gail Sellers** writes that work has been started on Los Angeles renewals and that street sales are picking up. "**Don** sells about 12 every week," she reports, "and **May** sells door to door for an hour each week." Two Westside comrades sold 15 **Militants** in about half an hour in Los Angeles' Negro community. Gail also reports two new subscriptions obtained at a public meeting recently.

H. L. W. of California sends in a P. S. with his renewal to **The Militant**. "You are surely getting out a **real newspaper!**" he writes, "More power to you."

Many thanks to **J. K.** of the Bronx, New York, for his $1 contribution sent in with his renewal to **The Militant** for two years.

Thanks also to **R. G.** of Greenbush, N. Y., for his donation to help pay the printing costs of **The Militant**.

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The Bending Cross (special price)	1.50
E. V. DEBS:	
Writings and Speeches (special price)	1.00
J. P. CANNON:	
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Bread Box and Ballot Box

A favorite pastime of the American labor leaders is scolding the workers for not voting on election day. Such complaints have recently swelled into a chorus of reproach: The workers must learn the connection between economics and politics, and vote!

George Meany, secretary-treasurer of the AFL writes: "In Congress and in the state legislatures we have found that the big business interests have been able to wipe out almost overnight freedoms and gains that the working people of this country were able to win only after years of patient organization and collective bargaining." The remedy? Contribute a dollar to AFL Labor's League for Political Action — and vote!

Walter Reuther, president of the CIO-UAW in a speech at the union's convention: "Millions of workers have not as yet learned of the relationship between the bread box and the ballot box. . . It is time the American people learned the political facts of life." The lesson? Give a buck to CIO Political Action Committee — and vote!

Hugo Ernst, president AFL Hotel and Restaurant Employees, writing in the union's magazine, says: Our wages in times like these, because they can be frozen or thawed out by a government board, become a political question." The answer? Register and vote!

To drive the lesson home, Ernst makes a comparison between the United States and Great Britain. "About 85 out of 100 citizens of Great Britain took the time and the trouble to go to the polls," he says, whereas in our own country, "only 50 out of 100 voters go to the polls." Why the difference? In our country, he sadly concludes, "some folks have the idea that 'it doesn't matter how you vote — the politicians are all alike.'" Ernst unwittingly puts his finger on the nub of the question.

The workers in Great Britain long ago learned the "relationship between the bread box and the ballot box." They had their two-party system — the Liberals and Conservatives. They learned that both parties represented capital and used their control of government to enrich the employers at the expense of the workers. Having learned that lesson they proceeded to act in accordance with the "political facts of life" and turned their backs forever on the two-party swindle.

When the British workers go to the polls today they vote Labor. They vote as they strike — against the bosses. They don't have to be lectured, scolded or berated. They have absorbed the "political facts of life" so well they are unable to comprehend any other course. An American labor leader recently attended the British Trades Union Congress and there proceeded to give a lecture on the virtues of the two-party system. The British were too polite to throw brickbats, they merely smiled as they would at a harmless idiot.

Is it still necessary to argue, in this day and age, that the two-party system is a political shell-game? That both Republicans and Democrats represent the interests of Big Business? That the politicians of both parties "are alike?" Yet, it is this argument that absorbs the attention of the American labor leaders. Some say vote Democrat. Some say vote Republican. The majority say vote both! And out of the nourishment provided by this watery stew the workers are supposed to gain clarity and inspiration.

The exhortations of the labor leaders leaves the workers cold. They don't register, they don't vote, because they see no real difference between the capitalist politicians of either major party. From this the labor leaders arrive at the conclusion that the workers are dumb. Has it ever penetrated their thick skulls that it is just barely possible the fault lies with their own bankrupt policy?

Truman's Fake 'FEPC'

Truman's new Committee on Government Contract Compliance is not intended to wipe out discrimination in employment — it is intended to ease the labor and Negro pressure on the White House for issuance of an executive order that would set up a Fair Employment Practices Commission with the power, personnel and funds needed to do an effective job in combatting discrimination at the hiring gate.

That was made evident by the fact that the CGCC has no power to compel a single employer to discontinue Jim Crow anywhere. And it was made glaringly obvious by the statement of Trumanite Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, the "super"-liberal from Minnesota. Hailing Truman's phony action as "a step in the right direction," Humphrey gave the show away by insisting that "we must now shift our fight to the floor of the Congress."

True enough, the fight for FEPC must be continued in Congress. But Humphrey knows very well that the adoption of FEPC by the present Congress does not have any more chances than the well-known snowball in hell. It was recognition of this fact that led the Negro, labor and liberal movements to demand action by Truman, who does not need the approval of Congress to issue an executive order creating an FEPC. The CGCC and Humphrey's statement show that Truman is trying to get the heat removed without granting any satisfaction to the anti-discrimination movement.

This shabby maneuver re-emphasizes an important political lesson. Why should any worker or member of a minority group place the slightest confidence in the promises of capitalist parties when they both promised an FEPC in their platforms, and both failed to keep their promises? Why should anyone believe their other promises about promoting peace when they can't even be relied on to enact such elementary democratic safeguards as protection of the right to a job without regard to the color of one's skin?

The pressure on Truman for an FEPC must not be relaxed. And the fight for FEPC and other progressive measures must be conducted with the understanding that they can be won only by defeating the capitalist parties.

Titoism and the War: A Reply to the Yugoslav CP

(Continued from Page 1)

who with startling ease negate everything they themselves have written and supported up to the Korean war, completely espouse the bourgeois thesis on rearmament and therefore place themselves even to the right of left socialist leaders like Bevan.

The "Marxist-Leninist" orthodoxy of the Yugoslav leaders is illustrated by another noteworthy criterion in the **Borba** article: They reproach us for insisting "on the inevitable character of a new world war as the inherent consequence of the existence of capitalism." The Yugoslav leaders counterpose to this **fundamental thesis** (which is not peculiar to the Congress of our International as they try to make people believe, but to Marxism-Leninism itself), their "theory" of the war resulting from the appetite of "aggressor and dominating countries," of disrespect for "equality between large and small country," of "violation of the principles of the United Nations charter," etc. Under this incoherent and wretched centrist phraseology they camouflage the "great idea" justifying their whole present policy; that is, "the aggressiveness of Soviet imperialism" as the cause of present international tension which can degenerate into war. As far as "democratic" imperialism is concerned, Milovan Djilas, top ranking CPY spokesman, has already "theoretically" explained its "transmutation" into democratic socialism!

The author of the **Borba** article attributes the supposed "futility of the struggle for peace," ostensibly put forward by the Congress of our International, to our aim "of justifying the aggressive policy of the Soviet leaders and the sowing of defeatism among the peoples who are preparing to defend their independence."

Nowhere in the documents of our Congress is there to be found any mention of "the futility of the struggle for peace" but the author of the **Borba** article permits himself to derive this conclusion from our contention of the inevitability of war "as an inherent consequence of the existence of capitalism." In reality, war is inevitable so long as the capitalist system continues to exist, and the only effective struggle for peace is the struggle for its abolition. This is an elementary axiom of Marxism. Centrists and opportunists who question

MARSHAL TITO

this axiom only prove the miserable **futility** of their own struggle for peace, consisting of phrases, chatter, confusion, association with the most diverse elements who curb and sabotage the only genuine "struggle for peace" — the revolutionary struggle of the masses against capitalism and imperialism.

The most significant aspect of the purpose for which the **Borba** article was written is the one concerning "the attitude of the Trotskyists toward Yugoslavia." The author tries to make his readers believe that the Trotskyists have abandoned their position of defense of the Yugoslav revolution and state and identify themselves with the Cominform. On the other hand he appears extremely sensitive to our criticism of the CPY leadership.

Following the example of the Stalinist leaders who, identifying themselves with the USSR and with the social regimes and revolutionary movements they lead, declare that the struggle of the Trotskyists against them and their leadership is a struggle against the USSR and the mass movements, the Yugoslav leaders identify the present course of their policy with the Yugoslav revolution and the Yugoslav workers state and make the same reproach against us that the Stalinists do.

"According to the Trotskyists," says **Borba**, "the (Yugoslav) revolution occurred in Yugoslavia **solely** (our emphasis) under pressure of the popular masses. The aim of such statements is to completely efface the role of the Yugoslav Communist Party, that is, of its **Central Committee** (our emphasis) in the leadership of the popular revolution. In effect this is the Cominformist theory of the spontaneity of the revolution in Yugoslavia."

The resolution on "The Yugoslav Revolution and the Fourth International," adopted by the Third World Congress of our International, begins as follows:

"The victorious proletarian revolution in Yugoslavia is fundamentally the product of two historic factors: the revolutionary upsurge of the toiling masses expressing itself in the movement of the armed partisans, and the **specific policy followed by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the important turns of the objective revolutionary process.**" (Our emphasis.)

Further on in the same resolution this specific policy of the CPY, in contrast to the policies of the other communist parties of Europe, is explained and emphasized.

The resolution emphasizes the **interaction** of the revolutionary pressure of the masses and of the subjective role played by the CPY and its leadership, while at the same time insisting on the primary importance of the revolutionary movement of the masses which also influenced the course of the CPY in a progressive direction.

The present conception of the Yugoslav leaders is naturally quite different: Not only do they claim to have consciously led the mass movement from the beginning (1941) toward the proletarian revolution but in good Stalinist form, they simply substitute for the mass movement the party, which is then reduced and identified with its "Central Committee."

This exercise in simplification — mass movement equals communist party equals central committee — permits the Yugoslav leaders, just as the classic Stalinist leadership, to erect themselves into a caste of omnipotent and uncontrollable bureaucrats who can carry out the sharpest zig-zags without giving an account to anyone. On the other hand it permits them to identify themselves with the revolution and its state in such a way that whoever makes any criticism of them is supposedly "attacking" the revolution and the state.

It is more than three years now since the Yugoslav leaders have convened a Congress of their party, but in the meantime the "Central Committee, that is, the Yugoslav Communist Party" has arrogated the right to **change the line of the Fifth Congress of the CPY from top to bottom on fundamental questions and principles such as the character of the USSR and the "Peoples Democracies," the Chinese revolution, the colonial revolution in general, and the character of imperialism, etc.**

The "Central Committee" can allow itself to attack the Trotskyists, as does the author of the article, by deforming the spirit and letter of their texts, making the capitalist press available to the Yugoslav masses but refusing the publication and free circulation of the literature of the revolutionary tendencies of the modern revolutionary workers' movement, the works of Leon Trotsky, etc. After that, they can very easily discourse at their leisure on the accelerated "democratization" of their regime.

The author of the **Borba** article is indignant because we call upon the Yugoslav communists "to organize a Leninist opposition in their party" to "replace the opportunist leadership and establish ties with the revolutionary forces in the world." This appeal, he finds, "unmasks" us as agents of the policy of the Cominform and "our new line which consists in serving the hegemonist policy of the bureaucratic caste of the Soviet Union."

Viewed from Belgrade, the Trotskyists have now become "Cominformist agents," but viewed from Moscow, they are still "Titoist agents." The explanation of this optical paradox derives from the fact that the Trotskyists, whose position flows from revolutionary Marxism, has never been able to tolerate any bureaucratic leadership of the workers movement. In their eyes we are "Cominformist agents" who want to deliver the Yugoslav revolution to the yoke of the Kremlin because we are against the present policy of capitulation and betrayal on the part of the Yugoslav leaders and we call upon the revolutionists of the country and the CPY to replace them with a genuine Leninist leadership.

But, at the same time, because we are still for the unconditional defense of proletarian Yugoslavia against imperialism and against the Soviet bureaucracy we are "Titoist agents" in the eyes of the Kremlin.

As there is no force on earth which can make us abandon our principled line, and as there is no device that can win our sympathy, this rules out the possibility of gaining for us the sympathy of inveterate opportunists.

They slander us because they fear us, because our ideas, our program, will have the last word — in Yugoslavia as in the USSR.

(Translated from La Verite)

One Way Only: Bevan's Plan for British Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

"One Way Only," the programmatic statement of Aneurin Bevan and his associates in the British Labor Party, reflects the bitter dissatisfaction and disappointment of the British workers with their recent Labor Government. The pamphlet is intended to meet that state of mind with an analysis of the situation and a policy of action different from that of the present Labor leadership.

The big fact in the British labor movement of the past few years is the growing discontent of the workers with their low living standards despite unprecedented production efforts in the name of Socialism. The British workers have begun to tie that fact up with the problem of war and international policy with increasing understanding. The Bevan pamphlet proceeds from there. "The intensification of the cold war," it says in recognition of this mass sentiment, "has ended our hopes of paying the British people the dividend they have earned by five years of recovery and austerity. Even more serious, it has first halted the advance towards socialism and then turned it into a retreat."

The Bevanites then attempt to re-examine the whole background of the Cold War and to re-evaluate it. Parts of this analysis are almost indistinguishable from that of the revolutionary Marxists. But it is interlarded with qualifying clauses that show unmistakably the authors' continued involvement in the class-collaborationist politics with which they appeared to break when they resigned from the Government.

Thus, for instance, they say at the outset: "From now on all wars . . . even if they begin as national wars, will end as international civil wars." But they add, as a sort of a Ministerial afterthought . . . all wars "except police actions conducted by the United Nations." Obviously they are not prepared to renounce their share in the responsibility for the "police action" in Korea.

Their analysis proceeds on a radical note throughout, and it is worth citing a few of the thoughts they express:

"The social revolution in Asia, Africa and the Middle East is the dominant fact of the twentieth century. . .

"That discontent (of the colonial peoples), and the revolt or revolution which it brings in its train, are as natural as the revolt of Englishmen against the claims of Charles I, or of the American colonists against the blind tyranny of George III. It is born of the same spirit which inspired the Chartists and the early Socialist Movement in Britain. It will not be put down. . . Dutch "police actions" could not keep their empire in Indonesia. Millions of pounds' worth of American weapons could not save Chiang Kai-shek. . ."

Again, noticeably, an otherwise correct analysis stops short at Korea. There is no attempt to explain what distinguishes Syngman Rhee from Chiang Kai-shek.

The policy proposed to fit this analysis is equally marked by inner contradiction. It is very radical in general terms. "The only sane policy for the West, the only reputable policy for Socialists," says the pamphlet in one section, "is to ally ourselves with the forces of social revolution and to prove by deeds that our aim is not dominion, but honorable partnership." In another section we read: "What the Party needs today is a reaffirmation and renewal of our socialist faith, a new determination to realize on a **world scale** the old principles which, in our home affairs, have brought us so far towards Socialism in the course of fifty years."

Finally, the pamphlet winds up: "We have made a start in applying the principles of fair shares in these islands, although there is still a long way to go before we can claim to have established a socialist society. Our next great task is to extend that same principle of fair shares **between** nations and to the tens of millions for whom poverty is still the greatest enemy."

For insular Britons, among them some who were only recently Ministers of the Crown, these are strong internationalist words, whatever their context. What they say, in effect, is this:

To achieve socialism, we cannot confine ourselves to Britain alone, we must work for its establishment on a world scale — we must ally ourselves with the social revolution in Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Any war that breaks out today is bound to become an international civil war directed against this social revolution. To avert war, this social revolution must be completed and socialism established on a world scale.

The authors of "One Way Only" thus reveal a sensitivity to revolutionary developments unusual in the official Labor leadership up to the present. They present a policy which in this **general** form echoes the aspirations of the British workers. But when these generalizations are given more **concrete** expression, Bevan and his friends show that they have not at all cut the bonds which have tied them to the old Laborite policy of collaboration with capitalism.

You would assume that a general policy such as "One Way Only" sets forth logically leads to a call for an end to the alliance with American capitalism. Indeed, Bevan has been called "anti-American" on that assumption. But when it comes down to cases, the pamphlet takes a different position.

"We do **not**, of course," it says, "suggest that the alliance should be broken. We do propose that over the coming months a series of British initiatives should be taken to rectify the lop-sided nature of the alliance. . ."

What are these "British initiatives" to be aimed at? They enumerate them: 1. An armistice (in Korea) as a prelude to a negotiated settlement in the Far East; 2. an Atlantic coalition "without insistence on German rearmament or the inclusion of General Franco; 3. peace proposals to the Russians, including one for a World Mutual Aid Plan; 4. the scaling down of the combined rearmament program "in order to release labor and resources for World Mutual Aid; 5. a fairer allocation of raw materials "between the Atlantic powers."

In this concrete form, the Bevan policy becomes hardly distinguishable from Attlee's. It is not even sharply counter-posed to Churchill's.

The Bevanites present a wealth of interesting economic statistics to show the background of the social revolution which their plan is meant to serve. The trouble with their program is that it is based on the notion that they can "persuade our Western allies" — that is, Wall Street — to join in carrying it through.

The British workers turned to Bevan because they feel the need of a new leadership that will resolutely break with the politics of compromising with capitalism and move decisively to a socialist society. Bevan's present program is only a hesistant, half-hearted step in that direction. Will Bevanism move further to the left in the days to come? Will the British workers continue their trend to socialism? That will be the subject of the final article in this series.

Sam Adams and the American Revolution: 5

THE PEOPLE SHOUTED!

By Harry Frankel

Early in 1765, the British Ministry threw a match into the powder barrel of American colonial discontent. Parliament, intent upon raising revenue in the colonies, passed the Stamp Act. This tax law provided that all legal documents, newspapers, mortgages, titles, deeds, and so forth, had to be printed on stamped paper, which was to be sold by the British government.

The passage of the Stamp Act brought a great reaction. Of course, the American ruling classes opposed the new tax. But in addition, the mass of the people, especially the city masses, now entered the fight in person. It must be remembered that revolutions differ from all other political events in that the people enter upon the scene, and make history directly, without intermediaries. And in the Stamp Act campaign of 1765, that is what happened in America.

Most political leaders of the opposition were shocked and repelled by the entrance of the masses, and by the work they did. But not Sam Adams. He welcomed the people as they entered the fight, and understood the meaning of the events. The Stamp Act demonstrations, said Sam Adams, "ought to be forever remembered in America. The people shouted, and their shout was heard to the distant end of the continent."

The People Acted

"The people shouted! . . . " and they acted too. Great crowds met incoming ships and seized the stamps. The stamps were burned in big bonfire celebrations. British ministers and their Tory supporters in America were burned in effigy at great mass meetings in Boston, Salem, New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, Charleston, and the other principal cities. At these meetings, held under the Liberty Tree, the stampmasters, brought in by large committees of brawny Sons of Liberty, were compelled to resign their obnoxious office.

One historian writes: "The stampmasters found themselves the most hated men in America. . . Most stampmasters probably did not suspect when they received their appointment that it was to be a traveling job — usually with a mob at their heels. In their headlong dash across country, they may well have outridden Revere himself. Had you seen a disheveled figure with a hunted look in his eye thundering down a colonial highway in 1765, you might well have concluded that here was an American stampmaster, on his way to the nearest British fort or man-of-war."

It was at this time that the Sons of Liberty were formed in most of the colonial cities. The Sons of Liberty were organizations of the leading active fighters, which planned and led the mass demonstrations. They were composed mainly of workers, artisans, shopkeepers, and, very often, were formed directly out of craft or trade organizations, or out of fire-fighting companies.

The Sons of Liberty

The following description of the functioning of these revolutionary action organizations is taken from a biography of Sam Adams:

"The 'Sons of Liberty' were soon thoroughly organized and subject to the direction of influential leaders. They were composed, for the most part, of the laboring classes and mechanics, and were successfully secret in all their meetings and preparations for concerted movements. They issued warrants for the arrest of suspected persons, arranged in secret caucus the preliminaries of elections, and the programme for patriotic celebrations, and in fact were the mainspring, under the guidance of the popular leaders, of every public demonstration against the government. They probably numbered about three hundred, (in Boston) and held their public meetings in 'Liberty Hall', the name given to a space around 'Liberty Tree' at the junction of Newbury, Orange and Essex Streets, which afforded ample room for a gathering of several thousand persons. . . "

The leaders of the Boston Sons of Liberty, or "Liberty Boys" as they were sometimes called, were all Adams men, staunch radicals. The steering committee of the organization was called the Loyall Nine. It was composed of one printer (Benjamin Edes, of Edes and Gill, printers of the Adams newspaper, the **Boston Gazette**), two distillers, two coppersmiths, one ship captain, a painter, and a merchant. The lone merchant on the committee, Henry Bass, was a cousin of Sam Adams. The Boston copper and silversmith, Paul Revere, who was to become famous as a courier, was also a prominent member.

In Charleston, South Carolina, Chris Gadsden, a radical merchant, was aided in the formation of the radical organization by a printer, a blacksmith, two house carpenters, a boatbuilder, two glaziers, and an upholsterer. This indicates the leading role of workers, independent artisans, small tradesmen and mechanics in the opposition.

Masterful Strategy

The Stamp Act campaign in Boston was organized by Sam Adams. It was in this fight that the masterful abilities of the great revolutionary strategist first came into active play.

Just prior to the demonstrations, Adams unified the North and South End "gangs" or "cudgel boys" of Boston into a single force. These "gangs" customarily battled each other on "Pope's Day" or on other suitable occasions.

Adams brought them together in a "Union Feast" and convinced them that patriotism came before local rivalry, or sport. Ebenezer Mackintosh, leader of the South End gang, became the first Captain-General of the Liberty Tree, and paraded his "troops" through the streets of Boston to the terror of the Tories.

Mackintosh, about whom only a few scraps of information have come down to us, was an Adams lieutenant on the field of action; a battle commander in the streets of Boston. He was small of stature, and a natty dresser, a reader of poetry by taste and a shoemaker by trade, a real fighter and an interesting individual about whom we know all too little.

Mackintosh led the two great demonstrations which put the Stamp Act out of business in Massachusetts. In retaliation for his part as leader of the popular movement, he was arrested and imprisoned by the government, but when Adams threatened reprisals, he was released. Others who were arrested after the demonstrations spent over a year in prison despite the protests.

The popular demonstrations in Boston which forced the stampmaster to resign, became so extensive and so militant, that the Governor of the colony fled to Castle William. There he remained, bottled up in the fort together with the stamps, which had been sent along for safekeeping.

Adams now set a further objective for the Boston insurgents. He opened a campaign to compel the various government departments to do business without stamps; that is, illegally.

The letters and articles for which he became famous poured from Adams' pen. He worked with inexhaustible energy, writing, speaking, organizing, exhorting, cajoling, convincing.

Emissaries were sent to the Massachusetts farming towns, in the first of Adams' back-country campaigns. Mass meetings were organized; demonstrations threatened a renewal of the August days of violence. The General Court and the Boston town meetings, soon joined by town meetings throughout the colony, passed strong resolutions. This combination of methods was used to hammer the Tories down.

The Tories Yield

The Tories were forced to yield. One by one the government departments had to reopen. Customs agents were forced to issue unstamped clearance papers to sailing vessels. The courts of common law, the probate courts, and finally even the court of the British Admiralty were compelled to go along. Finally, as the tension mounted to the breaking point, the Superior Court of the colony yielded after a hard fought two-month battle. Thus the governor and his council were left alone in their determination to do no business without stamps.

The Stamp Act was a total failure for the British rulers and the Tories. The British were compelled to repeal it. The first great campaign ended in victory.

Sam Adams had shown himself to be the most able revolutionary leader of the colonies. He welcomed the mass movement of the people, and helped to organize and lead it. But there were other oppositionists who were not so happy to see the masses come upon the stage. They feared the insurgent workers, farmers, storekeepers, artisans, mechanics. Because of their fears, the movement of opposition to Britain had its first serious internal rift.

(Next Week: The Rift Begins)

THE MILITANT

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10 Years of Smith Act

By George Lavan

Then years ago this week, the federal government secured its first convictions under the thought-control Smith Act. The trial was in Minneapolis. The 18 victims were leading members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis CIO Truckdrivers union.

The Truman administration is busy celebrating this Tenth Anniversary assault on the Bill of Rights by another Smith Act trial. This present trial is in New York and the victims this time are functionaries of the Communist Party.

By one of history's bitter ironies the current victims not only did not protest the first Smith Act convictions ten years ago but on the contrary applauded the railroading to prison of their Trotskyist opponents. By slander, pressure and power politics the Communist Party did all in its power to discredit and break up the movement of defenders of civil liberties that had rallied to the defense of the first Smith Act victims.

This must give rise to curious reflections in the minds of the current prisoners in the dock, facing long prison terms for having "dangerous thoughts." What for instance is defendant Louis Weinstock thinking? Ten years ago as head of the New York AFL Painters Union he corresponded with the Attorney General about the Minneapolis Trial. He wanted the Attorney General to aid him in combatting the sympathy and support that the Smith Act victims had aroused in the labor movement. Today Weinstock and his fellow victims realize that one of the few voices raised in defense of their civil rights is the very voice they tried to silence ten years ago — the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.

Ten years ago the Stalinists stabbed the labor movement and the cause of civil liberties in the back by refusing to support the fight against the Smith Act. Today large sections of the labor movement and of the liberals are acting as the Communist Party did in 1941.

In 1941 the hatred of the Stalinists against the Socialist Workers Party blinded them to the fact that it was not a question of defending the 18 Trotskyists but of defending civil liberties. Many labor leaders and liberals so hate the Communist Party that they are blinded to the fact that the issue is not defending Stalinism but defending civil liberties.

Ten years ago the **Militant** warned: "If the government succeeds in its frame-up. . . it will have established a precedent by means of which the guarantees contained in the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution can be wiped out altogether. . . This trial threatens infinitely dangerous consequences for all labor, for all progressive men and women the country over." That ten-year-old warning has just as much validity today — even more — because liberty-destroying court precedents have been set and consequently that much more of a fight is necessary.

In the present trial, Yale Law Professor Thomas I. Emerson, recently argued for the dismissal of the indictment. In his preliminary remarks he revealed the plan of the Attorney General to prosecute thousands of Communist Party members if convictions are secured in the present case. Emerson warned: "The implications of these facts are indeed portentous for the nation. For the first time we would be outlawing on a vast scale an entire political party, jailing its members and making advocacy of its basic doctrines unlawful. Numerous other persons would be implicated or threatened. Under such circumstances, the limits of permissible political action would become obscure and therefore seriously restricted. In actual operation a program of this nature could be carried out only through an apparatus of secret political police, informers, and undercover agents, and amid an atmosphere of public passion and fear. No one can doubt that the damage to freedom of political expression in the United States would be overwhelming and perhaps irretrievable."

In his cogent argument Emerson shows that the conviction of the 17 Stalinist functionaries would not be a mere legal repetition of the 1949 conviction of the eleven Stalinist top leaders but would represent a widening of the scope of the vicious Smith Act. Emerson's main points were limited to those narrower issues that the Supreme Court decision on the Dennis case leaves to the lower courts. He showed that the present indictment, even under the precedents of previous Smith Act cases, was illegal. The indictment violates the statute of limitations, it fails to cite an offense under the Smith Act as interpreted by the Supreme Court, and thirdly violates the First Amendment and the "probable" danger test that the Supreme Court substituted for the "clear and present" danger test in the Dennis decision.

The "Two-Job" Trend

By Thomas Raymond

Although it doesn't show up in the government statistics, the present trend of higher prices and higher taxes is knocking the workers' 40-hour week into a cocked hat. Many workers who fought for the 40-hour week, and who feel that the time has come to fight for a further reduction in hours, now find that they have to work two jobs, a 40 hour job and a supplementary job of 10, 15, 20 or more hours a week in order to keep the wolf away from the family door.

A New York fireman reports that a large percentage of the City firemen have to work on an additional job to make ends meet. Most workers know by their own observation just how widespread the practice is, although there are no coordinated statistics available.

The St. Louis **Globe-Democrat** reports a survey of the two-jobs trend made by the Missouri State Employment Service. The shocking conclusion of this survey is that "an estimated 50 percent of St. Louis area wage earners have to have more than one source of income to make ends meet. . . "

"The average worker," the **Globe-Democrat** says, "is working more than 40 hours and five days a week where there is only one income in a family.

"Some postmen sell eggs and police hold extra jobs. It has become a distinct part of a worker's life to have two jobs.

"Most people believed almost confiscatory taxes and the higher costs of living are responsible.

"This is in spite of the highest level of employment and the so-called highest wages in the area's history."

The **Globe-Democrat** goes on to report that employment service officials estimate that the 50 percent of the St. Louis area workers who have two jobs work about 52 to 55 hours a week. One official is quoted as saying: "It's an economic thing. They don't have those extra jobs because they enjoy working. They have to have them. . . "

"One of the best examples," the St. Louis paper continues, "is furnished at the Post Office. The State Employment Service refers scores of workers there for part-time jobs during the Christmas rush.

"At the same time, employees of the Post Office, permitted to work only the allotted hours there, pour into the employment office looking for part-time work elsewhere."

The average wages for industrial workers in the St. Louis area were $62.48 per week in August of this year, with a majority of the workers earning less than that average. The pay ranged from an average of $42.60 a week in the textile and clothing industry to $75.54 in the food and food products lines.

The conclusion of the **Globe-Democrat** from these figures is: "To pay the tax bill and fill the food basket has become increasingly difficult for the St. Louis wage-earner."

Thus "the worker who in the 1930's said 'I want a job,' today is the man who says 'I need two jobs.' "

The 30-hour week, which is justified by the enormous growth of productivity and by every other consideration, thus appears further away than ever, and the war-drive of American imperialism is undermining even the 40-hour week.

Purge in Czechoslovakia

(The following article is translated from the Aug.-Oct. issue of Quatrieme Internationale as background information on the present purge in the Czechoslovak Communist Party, highlighted by the arrest of Rudolf Slansky, who had previously been removed as general secretary. — Ed. Note.)

The new wave of purges in the Communist Party of Slovakia has little relation to the preceding purges against Klementis and Novomesky. It was caused by the publication of an article by Doctor O. Kapp on "Socialism and Bureaucracy" published by the Academy of Slovak Sciences. This article defended the view that the ossification of the bureaucratic apparatus, with its special interests, represented an important danger on the road of building socialism.

QUESTION OF BUREAUCRACY

Tvorba, organ of the CP Central Committee, replied with a furious attack against both the author and the entire Academy. The opinions of Doctor Kapp were said to be "purely Trotskyist conceptions." The bureaucracy, as a caste, supposedly exists only in feudal bourgeois states in the form of an alliance of the military caste with the caste of state functionaries. Basing itself on an article by Lenin, **Tvorba** "demonstrates" that Lenin's struggle against bureaucratism was directed exclusively against the remnants of the Czarist bureaucracy. In the USSR and the countries of the "Peoples Democracies" the bourgeois state apparatus is alleged to have been completely destroyed so that only "crude bureaucratic methods on the part of individuals comprising the state apparatus constitute a danger."

The Academy countered by opening a discussion on the basis of Kapp's article. It was this discussion that provoked **Tvorba's** attack. In its economic review the Academy recently published an article by Fr. Papanek, "Remarks on the Question of Kapp's Article." This article was also violently attacked by **Tvorba** as "semi-Trotskyist" since the author, under the cover of a polemic against Kapp, actually defended ideas similar to those of his adversary. It was then that the new wave of repression was unleashed in the Slovak CP.

PROVOKES STRUGGLE

The discussion of the bureaucracy problem assumes special significance in Czechoslovakia because the state apparatus was especially swollen between 1945 and 1948 when all the key positions in the administration and the economy were jointly occupied by representatives of each of the four big parties. None of these parties dared to attack this system before February 1948 for fear of losing their base among the functionaries. But this situation became untenable as a result of the enormous dead weight which burdened the economy. After the CP's domination was established and the principle of individual responsibility was reintroduced in the factories, the Stalinists found themselves obliged to start a big campaign to transfer functionaries to "sectors of productive work." This provoked furious clique struggles in the ranks of the administrative apparatus itself, particularly because the former functionaries were incorporated into industry as unskilled workers.

The significance of the controversy for the apparatus was made clear on Sept. 7, 8 and 9 in Rude Pravo, central daily of the Czech CP. The clique struggle between Gottwald and Slansky, which terminated in the removal of Slansky from his position as CP general secretary, is explained as follows in an editorial in the Sept. 8 Rude Pravo signed by Kopecky, Minister of Information:

"Up to now the question of cadres and organization has been treated in an erroneous an irresponsible manner . . . the Central Committee has drawn all the necessary conclusions from these experiences which signify a complete turn in the cadre and organization policy of the party . . . the Central Committee has come to the conclusion that the organisms which have existed thus far and the entire activity of the secretariat of the C.C. no longer corresponds to present conditions, that the maintenance of this system would have unhealthy consequences and would facilitate schismatic tendencies in the leading organisms of the party. . ."

CULT OF LEADER

Discussing new economic measures, **Rude Pravo**, Sept. 9, makes clear that what is involved is the extension and strengthening of the system of **individual responsibility** and of the principle of the "single head" in all levels of economic life. "There should be one leader at the head of each unit of production who takes all responsibility on himself within his sphere; a leader who enjoys **unlimited rights** and is subject directly to the higher functionary." This article also contains a significant admission of the enormous dead weight which this same bureaucratic apparatus represents for the economy.

BUFFALO IUE-CIO STRIKE SOLID AFTER 10 WEEKS

BUFFALO, Dec. 3 — The ten-week strike of 6000 workers of the Cheektowaga plant of the Westinghouse corporation reached a climax as the Federal Government directly intervened today. The strike, conducted by Local 1581, IUE-CIO, has been one of the bitterest on the Niagara Frontier since the Bell Aircraft strike of 1949, which was marked by widespread violence and vigilante terror by the local authorities acting in collusion with the industrial magnates.

The Westinghouse strike arose out of company attempts to abrogate vital seniority rights and job-posting provisions which the Westinghouse workers had gained as a result of several years of struggle. In addition to the above issues, the union has charged the company with violating the grievance procedures of the contract and of having discharged a departmental steward on "trumped up charges of having used abusive language to a foreman." The company later introduced a charge of insubordination against the steward and withdrew the first charge without even appraising the union of the new charge.

COMPANY PROVOCATION

It has been apparent for some time that all these issues are merely the outgrowth of the company's design to provoke a showdown fight with the local union, which has enjoyed a reputation in the area for militancy and aggressiveness in its labor relations. On two previous occasions, the union deferred strike action; but after it became clear that the company was out "to teach the union a lesson" the membership voted nine to one in favor of a strike which culminated in the plant-wide stoppage last Sept. 22.

During the course of the past ten weeks the company has unloosed the most vicious barrage of propaganda in the capitalist press. It has attempted four separate back-to-work movements, all of which proved miserable failures.

MILITANT RESOLUTION

Only two weeks ago, after the workers had been out more than two months, the local leadership called a membership meeting which was attended by more than 3,500 workers — the largest attendance in the history of the union. This meeting marked a turning point in the strike. In a ringing resolution denouncing the compay's strike-breaking and union-busting tactics, the union membership resolved to stay out until victory was achieved. Not a single worker voted against the resolution.

Today's announcement from Washington that Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service Cyrus S. Ching had summoned the company and the union to a meeting in Washington, comes upon the heels of a threat made by Ralph Stuart, vice-president in charge of the lamp division of Westinghouse Electric that the company will permanently close down its Bowling Green, Ky., plant, which also has been out on a strike for four months, unless the union agrees to a company ultimatum to return to work.

Two days earlier, James B. Carey, International president of the IUE-CIO, appealed to President Truman for the second time to intervene in what he termed the crisis in Buffalo. Ching's intervention into the strike, it was noted by many unionists, came amidst increasing signs of growing support for the strikers, not only amongst the rest of the workers in the fifty-two plant set-up of the Westinghouse corporation but particularly on the Niagara Frontier where the Buffalo strike-bound plant is located.

Many unionists viewed with suspicion the sudden intervention of Cyrus Ching, particularly in view of the fact that three of his Buffalo conciliators have been sitting in on the fruitless negotiations for the past several weeks without so much as letting out a peep — except for an occasional press release which shielded from public view the company's hostile attitude towards the union.

WHO MAKES DECISIONS FOR AMERICAN PEOPLE?

(Continued from page 1)

a global scale and a new system is being born that will eventually take shape as a free, socialist world. This is the march of history which nothing, — not dollars, not military force, not atom bombs — can stop. This is the reason for "the stubborn, dangerous dilemmas" faced by the "brain trust" of international capitalism located in the State Department and Pentagon buildings at Washington, D. C.

Their whole strategy, all of their plans, runs counter to this course of history: like King Canuto they are attempting to hold back the tide. For almost four years they have been promoting the "cold war" with billions of American dollars. Eventually they plan to build a big enough counter-revolutionary force to smosh the non-capitalist world at its strongest point, the USSR, making the destruction of the colonial revolutions at the periphery a relatively easy affair.

Reston not only reports dismal failure; he shows that the further the plan proceeds the more unrealizable it becomes.

The attempt to rearm Western Europe is creating a galloping inflation and driving these countries to bankruptcy — and thus to social revolution, which Reston omits to mention. But the failure to rearm them will leave them "weak," a "critical point" — meaning a liability not an asset in a war against the Soviet Union.

American support to the British and French empires in Asia, the Middle East and North Africa means, he says, loss of U.S. prestige in the Philippines and Indonesia. In reality it means failure of American corporations to supplant their commercial rivals in this part of the world, just as they failed to supplant Japan in China. Failure to support the British and French Reston says, "will weaken the confidence of its two most powerful allies in Europe."

Basically, however, it is not a question of "confidence" but of stability. Capitalist Europe cannot survive without the superprofits it derives from the exploitation of the colonial peoples. And — another not unimportant — only direct imperialist rule can assure the U.S. its military bases in Indochina, Morocco and elsewhere. It can never get or maintain them by the free consent of these peoples themselves.

The question implicitly raised by Reston is this: If these are the results of five years of "cold war" what will be the result of one year of "hot war?" Or to put it differently: If capitalism cannot stand the preparations for war, how can it survive the war itself?

"The point of all this," he says, "is not that men are very little — which alas, many of them are — but that the problems are very big." Never were truer words spoken. Like squaring the circle, the problem is not only big but insoluble for the capitalist rulers.

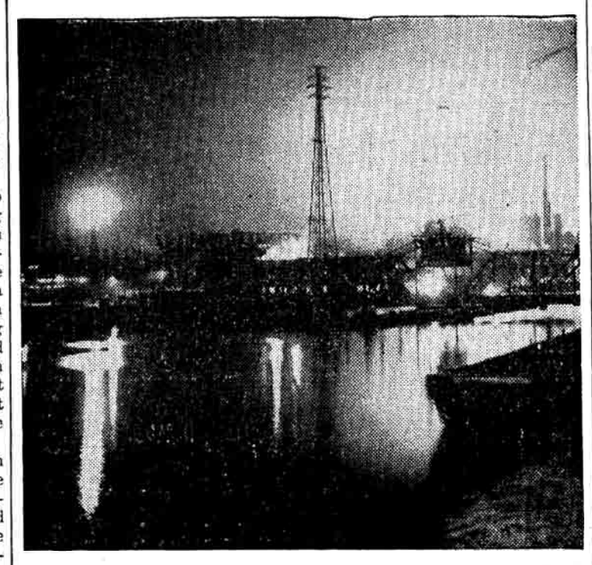
Does this mean, as the liberals are beginning to dream again, that the "cold war" will soon collapse amidst its own contradictions, and that the danger of World War III will disappear? Just the contrary. It means that the blind leaders trying to protect the mountains of wealth and privileges of a tiny decadent class and buffeted by "uncontrollable forces" will plunge into the maelstrom of war to save their dying system.

No ruling class has ever acted differently. That is how the Russian Czar acted, the way Hitler and the Japanese militarists acted. That is how it is happening today. Washington did not recognize the Chinese Revolution, but is making war against it through Korea. Washington meets the Middle East Revolution right now, by supporting British Imperialism and by jamming through its "Middle East Command" despite the wishes of these peoples.

Reston's article should give the American people food for thought. Should we entrust our fate to these "little men" — and that means all of them, Taft, Truman and Eisenhower, all of them according to Reston fit into the category of the victims of "uncontrollable forces?"

Is it not time to unleash the "uncontrollable forces" against the "little men" right here at home — that is, the great mass of ordinary Americans, workers, farmers, students, those who want peace, not war, who want a prosperous America for all the people, not a world empire for a few monopolists?

Will the Fires Go Out?



United Steelworkers President Philip Murray has hinted of strike possibility if the CIO union does not win a substantial wage boost in current talks with steel industry. A strike would bank fires in huge open-hearth furnace in Gary, Ind., steel mill (above) and shut down mills across the nation.

Popular Opposition Forces Slow-down in Korea Fighting

(Cont. from page 1)

tries are putting pressure on the State Dept., too."

Truman and his military negotiators have been forced to retreat a step under popular pressure, but this by no means assures that a permanent cease-fire will be achieved. And even if a cease-fire were signed, that will not mean peace in Korea. Far from it.

The U. S. leaders have made plain that American armed forces will remain in full strength in Korea regardless of any cease-fire. Civil war, as the reports on guerrilla warfare in South Korea reveal, will undoubtedly continue against the regime of Syng-Rhee and the U.S. occupation troops. At any subsequent time, American imperialism will be in position to renew full-scale warfare and even to extend the war to China proper.

From the beginning, the Korean intervention has been the most unpopular war in U.S. history. Every Gallop poll, every newspaper questionaire, a continuous flood of letters to Congress and editors has expressed the overwhelming opposition of the American people to this war and to their desire to withdraw the U.S. troops from Korea.

The administration and the supporters of the U.S. invasion of Korea have had to resort to the most elaborate lies to conceal the true character of the war, its scope and consequences It was said, for instance, that this is a "United Nations" war. Rep. George H. Bender of Ohio admitted in Congress on Dec. 1 that "the UN label placed by President Truman on the Korean war forces is a shabby and disgraceful farce, designed to deceive the American people."

"All decisions on fighting, on truce negotiations, on cease-fire announcements come from our government," declared Bender, citing figures to show that more than 93% of all "UN" armed forces in Korea are either from the U.S. or South Korea (which is not part of the UN). The vast majority of UN nations are not participating.

Truman lied that the Korean intervention was only a "police action." Today, the U.S. alone has more than 400,000 personnel in the Korean war and has suffered over 100,000 battle casualties, while the South Koreans have sustained 212,000 more. The Korean War is second only to the two world wars in forces involved and casualties.

In spite of their opposition to the war and their awareness of Truman's lies, the American people have been unable to impose their will on the government. The capitalist politicians and generals have brazenly defied American and world public opinion. That is because popular opposition to the war has been unorganized. It has lacked sustained, concentrated striking power.

Such power can come only through the organizations of the people, the trade unions and the Negro groups like the NAACP. Unfortunately, the leaders of these organizations have shamefully failed their members and the American people by keeping silence on the issue of ending the war in Korea and withdrawing the U. S. troops and by supporting the position of the war-makers.

The people of this country want to pull the troops entirely out of Korea. More pressure is needed to carry out the people's will. It is up to the ranks of the mass labor and Negro organizations to force their leaders to act.

Students Hit U. C. Ban on Shachtman

The growing protest of students against the thought-control drive of university administrations was demonstrated at the University of California. A scheduled debate between Max Shachtman, chairman of the Independent Socialist League, and a professor was banned from the U. of C. campus by the Dean of Men, because Shachtman's organization is on the Attorney-General's "subversive" list.

The student newspaper, **Daily California**, took the lead in the protest movement. Students representing all shades of political opinion demanded that the principle of free speech be upheld. When the college administration remained adamant students made an off-campus hall available for the banned debate on the situation in Great Britain. The meeting was chaired by a U. of C. professor who spoke in defense of academic freedom.

Court Blasts Dictatorship in Sailors Union

By A. Taylor

SEATTLE, Dec. 3 — The Lundeberg dictatorship over the AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific was roundly condemned last week in a Washington Superior Court decision ordering reinstatement of militant rank-and-filer John A. Mahoney to membership in the union and back wages for the period he was unemployed due to his illegal expulsion.

TWO YEAR FIGHT

This court victory culminated a two-year struggle by Mahoney and other militant seamen for free speech in the union. At the May 23, 1949 meeting of the Seattle branch of the S.U.P. Mahoney asked the question: Who gave the union officials the right to send men through the Canadian Seamen's Union picket lines?" For this he was ordered to San Francisco to stand trial.

Mahoney refused on the grounds that the union constitution specifically provided that he be tried in the nearest union branch, in this case Seattle, and that he couldn't get a fair trial in San Francisco where the Lundeberg machine ruled dictatorially.

For this he was expelled. Wholesale expulsions of union members speaking in his defense also took place. Finding no way of getting a fair hearing or constitutional treatment in the police state atmosphere of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, Mahoney went to court.

FLAYS DICTATORSHIP

In his decision Judge Donald A. McDonald said: "I do not see how any court of justice can condone the ruthless purge by which Mahoney and every one of his supporters who did not bow to the ukase of the dictators at headquarters were cut off with such implacable fury as this record attests.

"They (the Lundeberg machine) say they were engaged in a life-and-death struggle with subversives. But assuming this to be true, it did not justify resort to fascist tactics."

Referring to the campaign carried on by the union paper in an attempt to terrorize the membership against any expression of support for Mahoney or the Mahoney Defense Committee, the judge stated: "The issues in evidence of the **West Coast Sailor**, the official publication of the union, make plain the fate that awaited the recalcitrant."

The judgment for Mahoney's loss of earnings orders the union to pay him $425 a month from April 17, 1950 plus 6.8%, which is the rate seamen's wages have increased since the expulsion, less the money Mahoney earned in that period while working as a longshoreman.

USE FINKY ARGUMENTS

Lawyers for the Lundeberg machine utilized the whole arsenal of anti-labor arguments in their unsuccessful efforts to win the case. At times this reached the ridiculous as when the Lundeberg lawyers told the judge, "This Mahoney believes in the slogan that an injury to one is an injury to all." Mahoney's lawyers showed that this was an official slogan of the union's paper for years before the Lundeberg machine changed the S.U.P. from a militant and democratic labor organization into a despotism.

Testimony at the trial also revealed collusion between the Lundeberg officialdom and the Alaska Steamship Company, whose officials testified that they would not hire Mahoney even if he were shipped from the union hall.

It is expected that the Lundeberg bureaucracy will appeal the court decision. There is no way, however, that the machine can escape the encouraging effect of Mahoney's court vindication on the rank and file of the union which is chafing at the lack of democracy in their union.

Al Lynn Memorial Meeting Held by Los Angeles SWP

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 2 — Memorial services were held here this afternoon for Comrade Al Lynn who died suddenly last Friday of a heart attack. Al was only 33 years old.

During most of his 33 years Comrade Lynn knew that the heart ailment which afflicted him in childhood had in all likelihood doomed him to an early death. Perhaps it was this knowledge, which must have accompanied him always, which gave him his sericusness and earnestness, which made his life a symbol of devotion to the Socialist Workers Party. For Al had no life outside the revolutionary movement. The party was his life.

Today the party — his party — paid tribute to his devotion. Close to one hundred of his comrades gathered together in the SWP headquarters to hear Chairman Myra Tanner Weiss tell of his 13 years' work in the movement from the time he joined as a young man to the very day and hour of his death. She told of the eloquent, but mute, testimony of his activities chronicled in his notebook where, on that last day, he had checked off his 2 o'clock appointment with the doctor and his 4:30 appointment on party work, but where his 8 p.m. appointment remained unchecked.

Following Myra's talk, a chorus of comrades sang the Workers' Memorial song, after which all those assembled rose and sang the Red Flag and the International.

As a special tribute to Comrade Lynn, who gave so much of his time, energy and thought to handling the difficult task of party finances, comrades and friends sent to the national office $1000 to the **Militant** and Party Building fund.

Another and also a fitting tribute was paid him. The extensive Marxist library which he had collected and studied during his life was turned over to the party as the nucleus of a permanent library in party headquarters, to be known as the Lynn Memorial Library.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a lecture on

The Bill of Rights

How it was born, why it is under attack today, and what can be done to preserve it.

Speaker:

GEORGE BREITMAN

Fri., Dec. 14, at 8:30 PM at 423 Springfield Avenue

This series of forums will be discontinued during the holiday period (Dec. 21 and 28) and will resume on Fri., Jan. 4